

Message Text

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 05015 161330Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----072350 161332Z /44

O 161255Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7075
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 5015

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, WA, SF
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: NEXT STEPS

REF: (A) LAGOS 14173, (B) PRETORIA 6889

1. SUMMARY. RE THOUGHTS IN REFTELS ON MOVING SWAPO,
WE ARE NOT SURE HOW MUCH MORE NYERERE CAN DO TO
BRING NUJOMA ALONG, AND IT MAY NOT BE DESIRABLE TO ENGAGE HIM
TOO HEAVILY IN SPECIFICS. NYERERE'S FRUSTRATIONS WITH SWAPO
ARE NOW CONSIDERABLE. HE MAY SEE FURTHER DIRECT EFFORTS ON HIS
PART AS FRUITLESS, BUT HE MIGHT BE WILLING TO WORK INDIRECTLY
WITH OTHERS. NETO'S CURRENT VISIT TO DAR MAY BE SIGNIFICANT IN
THIS RESPECT. NYERERE COULD EVENTUALLY REACH THE POINT WHERE HE
WOULD CONSIDER TINKERING WITH SWAPO FACTIONS, BUT WE DOUBT
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HE IS THERE YET. HE WOULD IN ANY CASE HAVE TO ARRIVE THERE ON
HIS OWN AND NOT BE USED BY CONTACT GROUP AS A CHANNEL. END
SUMMARY.

2. NYERERE BELIEVES IN THE CG INITIATIVE AS PRESENTED IN DAR
RECENTLY AND WOULD WANT TO DO WHAT HE COULD TO BRING SWAPO
AROUND. WE ARE INCLINED TO DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT NYERERE WILL

BE ABLE TO DO MUCH MORE WITH SWAPO AND NUJOMA THAN HE HAS DONE SO FAR. IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT IN THEIR RECENT MEETINGS NYERERE HAS AVOIDED TALKING WITH NUJOMA ON SPECIFICS BUT HAS LECTURED HIM ON STATESMANSHIP, HIS RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA, AND THE OPPORTUNITY OFFERED BY THE INITIATIVE OF THE WESTERN FIVE. THIS HAS PROBABLY HELPED IN PRODUCING NUJOMA AT TALKS AT DIFFERENT STAGES OF THE INITIATIVE BUT THERE IS NO LEVER HERE THAT CAN BE PULLED TO DELIVER SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONTACT GROUP'S PROPOSALS.

3. PART OF NYERERE'S PROBLEM IS THAT HE HAS LITTLE REAL LEVERAGE WITH SWAPO. TANZANIA LOST MUCH OF ITS RELEVANCE TO SWAPO'S STRUGGLE WITH ANGOLA'S INDEPENDENCE. SWAPO FORCES ARE NO LONGER TRAINED OR EQUIPPED HERE. NYERERE MIGHT, HOWEVER, TRY TO ENLIST THE COOPERATION OF THOSE WHO DO HAVE SIGNIFICANT LEVERAGE. ANGOLAN PRESIDENT NETO'S CURRENT VISIT TO DAR ES SALAAM MAY BE SIGNIFICANT IN THIS REGARD.

4. NYERERE HAS LEFT IT TO THE CONTACT GROUP TO DISCUSS THE SPECIFICS OF A SETTLEMENT WITH THE PARTIES CONCERNED. SHOULD HE BECOME MORE INVOLVED WE MIGHT FIND A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT HE WOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT AND WHAT HE WOULD BE WILLING TO ADVOCATE. HE HAS, FOR EXAMPLE, ACCEPTED THE FIGURE OF 2,000 UN TROOPS DURING THE TRANSITION BUT ONLY AS A BARE MINIMUM BASED ON A SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE OF 1,500. BUT HE HAS SAID THAT IF HE WERE SPEAKING FOR SWAPO HE WOULD WANT THE UN FORCE TO BE CONFIDENTIAL

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CONSIDERABLY LARGER.

5. THERE IS ALSO A POSSIBILITY THAT IF WE PRESS NYERERE HARDER ON MOVING SWAPO HE WILL COUNTER BY TELLING THE CONTACT GROUP TO USE ITS INFLUENCE TO DELIVER SOUTH AFRICAN AGREEMENT TO THE CG'S PROPOAL (DAR ES SALAAM 4925). ONCE SOUTH AFRICA WAS ON BOARD, HE WOULD FIND IT EASIER TO BRING SWAPO ALONG.

6. WHILE NYERERE IS UNDOUBTEDLY IMPATIENT WITH NUJOMA, WE DOUBT THAT HE IS READY TO TAMPER WITH SWAPO'S ORGANIZATION. HE WAS THINKING OF DOING SO WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT BUT THAT PRECEDENT IS IN MANY WAYS INAPPROPRIATE. UNLIKE THE CONSTELLATION OF ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALIST GROUPS, SWAPO STANDS VIRTUALLY ALONE AS A BONA FIDE NAMIBIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT. NYERERE WOULD BE OPEN TO CHARGES OF GROSS INTERFERENCE BY OTHER AFRICANS IF HE SOUGHT TO ALTER SWAPO'S OUTLOOK BY DEALING WITH LEADERS, SUCH AS SHIPANGA, OF SWAPO FACTIONS. NAMIBIA IS OF LESS CONSEQUENCE TO NYERERE THAN RHODESIA AND HE WOULD PROBABLY BE UNWILLING TO TAKE THE SAME RISKS AS WITH THE LATTER. WE DO NOT RULE OUT THAT NYERERE MAY SOMEDAY REACH THE POINT OF TINKERING WITH SWAPO. SHOULD HE GET THERE IT WOULD HAVE TO BE ON HIS OWN AND NOT THROUGH BEING USED AS A CHANNEL BY THE

WESTERN FIVE.
WALKER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 16-Dec-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977DARES05015
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770469-0263
Format: TEL
From: DAR ES SALAAM
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19771248/aaaaboiv.tel
Line Count: 118
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b1c14c02-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 LAGOS 14173, 77 PRETORIA 6889
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 209116
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: NEXT STEPS
TAGS: PDEV, WA, SF
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b1c14c02-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009